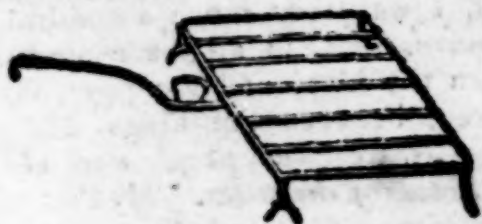


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TO

THE PEOPLE OF OLDHAM.

Bolt-court, 12. Feb., 1834.

MY FRIENDS,

BEING very desirous that you should clearly understand that which I think, and that which I intend to do, relating to the established church, and also that you should possess as full information as I am able to give you with regard to what will be proposed in Parliament, I address this letter to you.

The nature of an established church; that is to say, the reasons for such an establishment; the grounds on which such an establishment must rest, if it have any thing at all to rest upon, are these. FIRST, that it is, from its very constitution, a provision made for that part of the community which has not the means of providing religious teachers for themselves; and, SECOND, that it takes care that religion be taught to the far greater part of the whole of the community. When men agreed to submit themselves to laws, and to forego the right of the strongest, they agreed, of course, that there should be proprietorship of the land and the good things proceeding from the land. They could not do otherwise than understand this to make part of the agreement. But, at the same time, they never could have given their consent to a compact which should necessarily expose the far greater part of them to perish with hunger, or to wander about destitute of religious teaching, while the comparatively few, who were in possession of the land and the houses, should have a superabun-

dance of all the necessities of life, and of all the means of moral and religious instruction. From the laws of Moses, downwards, provision for the relief of the destitute, and for religious instruction, always made part of the laws of every civil community. When the Christian religion came, the moment a religious society was formed, there commenced a contribution in some shape or another for the maintenance of the priesthood, and for the relief of the poor; these two never being, in any case, separated from one another. The religion, indeed, seems always to have been a something rather proceeding out of the latter, than the latter proceeding out of that; and it is very curious, that the order of DEACONS was established by the apostles for the express purpose of managing the affairs of the poor, and of attending at the tables at which they were fed.

The *Christian religion*, then, is not an affair of preaching, or prating, or ranting, but of taking care of the bodies as well as of the souls of the people; not an affair of belief and of faith and of professions, but an affair of doing good, and especially to those who are in want; not an affair of fire and brimstone, but an affair of bacon and bread, beer and a bed.

The laws of England, ecclesiastical, civil, and municipal, took care that this matter was rightly managed. It took care that there should be religious instruction provided for the people; and it took care, that this should be provided by those who held the land and the houses; the proprietorship of each was *charged* with the expense of making this provision. Therefore, the churches and the tithes belonged to the whole of the people, and full as much to those who had no land and houses, as to those who had land and houses; and these are the property of the whole of the people now.

Therefore, you perceive that, if the people call for an abolition of tithes, they

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call for giving up to the proprietors of the land and the houses, that which the law has allotted to the whole people, and to the poor especially, as their only patrimony. I, once before, observed, as I shall now, that, for this matter to be rightly understood, the churchwardens of some parish must go, on a Sunday morning at the time for going into church, *and prevent by force, if necessary, all those who do not yield tithes or church-rates, to come into the church.* This would bring the question to issue in a plain common-sense shape. The churchwardens would say to a poor man, who has neither land nor house, and who pays no rates, "You have no right to enter here: the church and churchyard belong to those who yield the tithes and pay the church-rates; and as you neither yield the former nor pay the latter, you have no right to enter here." This would bring the thing to a point; the people would plead tradition and custom; and they might further plead the law; but, before they could clearly establish their right, they must go back to the origin of the church and the tithes, and then they would find, that both belonged to them, and to no proprietor whatsoever, and that they never did belong to any proprietor.

But, they would find that the tithes were not established solely for the purpose of providing religious instruction; but also for the purpose of providing for the wants of the destitute; and they would find that they were so provided for out of the tithes, until after that epoch which is called the "*Reformation.*" After that the tithes were taken by the clergy of this new church, and by the aristocracy, under the name of lay-impropriators, and applied solely to their own uses; and a tax was laid upon proprietors at large, to make provision for the destitute, and to keep the churches in repair; and hence came poor-rates and church-rates. The thing was thus totally changed as to the property of the church and the poor; and all that remained to the latter were the edifice of the church, and the mere services performed by the minister, and the

churchyard to be buried in. This new application of the property has, in time, produced all that we now hear and behold relative to the church. When I first read the History of England, I was very much astonished to perceive, that, in all the contests between the kings and the pope, that is to say, between the kings and the clergy, *the common people were always on the side of the latter.* My Protestant education made me indignant at this; but, since I have obtained more information on the subject, I can see very good reasons for the conduct of the common people in these cases. The truth is, that the clergy were trustees for them; and the kings were always endeavouring to get something from both. At last came the "*Reformation,*" as it is called; and then the aristocracy took the abbey lands, and the much larger part of the tithes to themselves, and gave the rest to a married clergy. For about twenty years, they pretended still to give relief to the destitute out of the property that they had taken; they then ceased to give any relief at all; and, after a long and bloody struggle, or series of struggles of one sort or another, the aristocracy resorted to poor-rates and church-rates.

But, *now*, a new state of things has arisen. This Protestant church was established by law; but law was not enough to knit the people to it. From mere habit; and, indeed, from the dread of persecution for many years, they pretty generally adhered to it; but, it having become totally separated from its main object and main business, the providing for the wants of the destitute, it gradually ceased to be a point on which the people would rally. They saw that they were no longer sharers in the tithes; and, therefore, they looked a great deal more to the poor-rates than they did to the church: the poor-rates were their *compensation* for the loss of their patrimony; and, as to *religious instruction*, they very soon began to think, that they could provide better for themselves, the church having nothing at all belonging to it in the way of power, or even of doctrine and disci-

pline, except that which had been created by act of Parliament.

Hence people separated from the church; hence all the different religious sects which we behold; and now, besides the universal feeling, that the tithes are of no use to any body but the tithe-owners, who took them away from the people in the manner that we have seen, there are the objections of the *dissenters* to contribute towards the maintenance of a religion which they not only do not profess, but which they express their disapprobation of, and from which they have dissented accordingly. If the churchwardens of a parish were to act on a Sunday morning, as above supposed, the complaint of the dissenters would be of a different description from that of the poor of the parish, who chose to go to church; or rather, that conduct in the churchwardens would fully warrant the complaint which the dissenters now make. Their complaint is this; that they are compelled to yield tithes, and pay church-rates for the maintenance of religious teachers, and for the carrying on of the affairs of a religion from which they dissent, and of which they disapprove. It is very difficult to find an answer to them, if you contend, that the establishment is for the purpose of *religious instruction*. If, indeed, you say; "These tithes are a parcel of property; they are held by certain persons who hold them according to law, and those who hold the property are to have it; let the religion of the people be what it may:" if you say this, then the answer is, that the law ought to be altered; but, if you contend, that the establishment is for the purpose of giving religious instruction to the people, then you must allow, that those who receive no such instruction, and can receive no such instruction, and who provide religious instruction for themselves; you must allow, that they have a good and well-founded objection to yield tithes, or to pay church-rates.

This is the question now; and this question must be decided before a very long time shall have passed over our heads. The dissenters object to the tithes on

the ground that I have stated; but the church-people object to them, also, upon the ground that they have been diverted from their original purpose; and also, that they are taken by men who do nothing in the way of furnishing religious instruction. They complain, in fact, that they have no church; that the tithes are applied to quite other purposes. They complain, besides, that they are a *hinderance to improvement in agriculture*, in which respect I totally disagree with them; and I have, in many instances, endeavoured to elicit the facts and arguments, upon which is founded this accusation against the payment of tithes. Before I go further, it will be best to insert here, for your perusal, first, the complaints of the *DISSENTERS*; and, next, the complaints of the *CHURCH-PEOPLE*. The first is a paper put forth by the "*Committee of Protestant dissenters*," who hold their meetings at No. 16, *Bedford-row*, London; and the second is a petition from the inhabitants of the parish in which I myself was born, and in which petition the complaints of the church-people are set forth in the citing of a case, the facts of which are indubitable, and the bare statement of which must make every man say, This shameful abuse ought no longer to exist.

COMPLAINTS OF DISSENTERS.

BRIEF STATEMENT OF THE CASE OF PROTESTANT DISSENTERS.

The Committee of Deputies of the Three Denominations of Dissenters, Presbyterian, Independent, and Baptist; with Deputations from the general body of Ministers, from the Protestant Society for the protection of Religious Liberty, and from the United Secession Presbytery of London; having formed themselves into a "United Committee to consider the Grievances under which Dissenters now labour, with a view to their Redress"; think it expedient to state the present legal position of Protestant Dissenters, and some of the Reasons and Principles on which

the Committee recommend united applications to the legislature for relief.

Religious liberty has been brought to its present favourable state by the slow, but certain, advancement of society in knowledge, truth, and justice. And the removal of penal statutes affecting religion, from the code of our country, will show the extent of those improvements which have been successively effected by liberal and enlightened policy.

Nonconformity had its origin in the principles maintained and acted upon at the Reformation; principles of the highest importance to the true prosperity of states, and the legitimate interests of religion. These principles respect the sole and exclusive sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures, the right of all men to judge for themselves in the interpretation and use of that Divine standard, and the correlative right to act according to their judgment in matters of religion, so long as its exercise interferes not with the right of others. As such rights do not originate in human laws, no human laws can justly abridge them.

The exertion of political power for the suppression of error, or the establishment of truth, is presumptuous and unjust. To the exercise of this power there are no definable limits; and it invariably secularizes every form of Christianity with which it is associated.

Whenever the authority of law is brought to bear on the promotion or the suppression of theological opinions and plans of ecclesiastical polity, it must operate injuriously, whether by rewards or penalties. One religious denomination is unjustly exalted, while the members of other denominations, equally entitled to the esteem and confidence of their fellow-subjects, are unjustly depressed.

A deep impression felt by the committee has impelled them thus to state their principles on this primary ground of religious nonconformity. They have specific grievances of which to complain, and the early removal of which they anticipate on the ground of impartial justice; but they feel that it

would be a violation of their duty, did they not express their conscientious objection to the alliance of any ecclesiastical systems with the civil power, and their conviction, that all religious denominations should be left to their own resources and arrangements.

Having recorded their deliberate and solemn testimony, they leave the decision of the great question to the progress of events and the determination of an enlightened legislature, under the providence of the Most High.

The committee now proceed to state the practical grievances, which directly press on Protestant dissenters and require immediate redress.

1. The want of a legal registration of *births, marriages, and deaths*, without submitting to religious rites to which they conscientiously object.—The validity given to the parochial registers, while those of dissenters are rejected, has created invidious distinctions, and subjected the whole dissenting body to great inconvenience, and in some cases to positive wrong. As all registrations of baptism are defective, not being evidence of the time of birth, and as many hundred congregations of nonconformists do not practise infant baptism, and consequently cannot avail themselves, even of a baptismal register, some comprehensive measure of a civil, and not religious character, is absolutely necessary to place all the subjects of the empire upon a footing of just equality, and to furnish an efficient registration of births, marriages, and deaths, for the whole community.

2. Compulsory conformity to the rites and ceremonies of the established church in the *celebration of marriage*.—The committee consider the demand of such conformity an interference with natural and social rights, and a direct violation of liberty of conscience, aggravated in cases where the doctrines as well as the polity and discipline of the church are grounds of nonconformity. If marriage

be regarded as merely a civil contract, they deem it expedient that the legislature should adopt proper means to establish the formation of the civil contract before a civil officer and competent witnesses, with an efficient registration. If it be a religious contract, then they claim that their own ministers should be allowed to solemnize it. If it be both civil and religious, they contend that the civil contract should be according to the civil form to be established by the legislature, and that the religious exercises should be left to the parties concerned. The very right for which the committee now contend, has been long exercised by dissenters in Scotland and Ireland, and *even in this country by the Society of Friends.*

3. The denial to dissenters of the *right of burial*, by their own ministers, according to their own forms in *parochial cemeteries*.—This grievance has been removed by Parliament in *Ireland*, and no difficulty has occurred in the operation of the measure. The committee, therefore, see no reason why similar relief should not be extended to English dissenters.

4. The exclusion of Protestant dissenters from the *privileges of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge*.—The committee regard it as an unrighteous restriction, that dissenters are prevented from enjoying the full benefit of education at those seats of learning unless they become members of the established church. Is it right that the dissenter, whatever his intelligence or fortune, should be compelled to seek in the universities of the sister kingdoms or foreign lands, those literary advantages which are denied him at home? The pressure of this evil is aggravated by the want of a charter to the London University, with authority to *bestow the honours and distinctions which Oxford and Cambridge confer.*

5. The liability of dissenters to the *payment of church-rates, and other ecclesiastical demands*.—Against such exactions the committee protest, as at once inexpedient and unjust. They perceive no reason why similar imposts should be abolished in *Ireland*, and continued in England. Is it reasonable, on any principle of justice or of policy, that those who cannot conscientiously worship at the altars of the established church, should be compelled to *contribute to her expenditure*? Is not this as degrading to her supporters, as it is unrighteous to those who dissent from her claims? Is not the dignity of religion best consulted, when its professors render voluntary homage to its principles, and present free-will offerings for its support?

Such is the case which the committee present to the consideration of their friends throughout the country, that measures may be adopted for effective co-operation in bringing the claims of dissenters before the attention of the legislature. Convinced that their cause is founded on truth and justice, they are assured, from the loyalty and patriotism of dissenters, that no means will be employed by them for the accomplishment of their object, but such as are in accordance with the principles of the British constitution, and the hallowed dictates of Christianity.

In conclusion, the committee respectfully recommend to the various classes of dissenters, the formation of associations in the principal towns and districts of the kingdom, and the immediate adoption of resolutions and petitions in support of their claims. They also suggest, that while, in their applications to Parliament they firmly, but temperately, avow their principles, they limit the prayer of the petitions to the redress of practical grievances.

Signed, on behalf of the committee,
ROBERT WINTER,
Secretary.

14, Bedford-row, London,
4. Jan., 1834.

With regard to the registration of births, marriages, and deaths, the matter is not of so much importance; it is not so direct an attack upon the establishment; but, the admission of dissenting ministers to perform the burial-service after their own manner, in churchyards of the establishment, must, of necessity, tend to the pulling down of the church. I am not saying that it is an evil that it tends towards; I am not saying that it is wrong to permit this; but am merely pointing out to you the natural effect of it. Next comes a claim to the privileges of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Very proper, perhaps; but, certainly, another great blow at the establishment.

But, it is the complaint in number 5 that is the sweeper. This is a complaint against a grievance, which, if redressed, at once puts an end to the church, as an establishment. The payment of church-rates, and "other ecclesiastical demands," certainly includes the tithes; for the tithes are "*ecclesiastical demands*" of much longer standing than church-rates are. However, suppose that we stop at church-rates. That decides the question; for, does any one believe, that every man will not become a dissenter, except he have some immediate interest connected with the establishment? Does any one believe that every man will not become a dissenter, if, by that means, he can ensure an exemption from this tax? Those who have an interest in upholding things as they are, may continue to pay the tax. If church-rates be abolished upon the principle here laid down, there is no argument in the world to justify the continuation of tithes. The dissenters say, that it is not reconcilable to any principles of justice, or of policy, "that those who cannot conscientiously worship at the altars of the established church, should be compelled to contribute to her expenditure." This applies to tithes as well as to church-rates; and, if the church yield in the one case, it must yield in the other.

The dissenters say, in conclusion, that "while they thus set forth and

"avow their principles, they will limit their prayers to Parliament, to the redress of *practical* grievances." That is to say, if their words have any meaning to the abolition of tithes and church-rates altogether; and they may be assured, that they will obtain the whole with much more ease than they will obtain a part; because men do not like to grant, to an application which is disguised, that which they would willingly grant to an open avowal of the full extent of the wishes and objects of those who make the application. If a proposition be made to abolish the church-rates, and, if that proposition be agreed to, with what consistency are the same persons to refuse the abolition of tithes, the tithes being so much more heavy a charge than the church-rates, and both resting upon one and the same foundation; namely, the necessity of them to the religious instruction of the people.

COMPLAINTS OF THE CHURCH-PEOPLE.

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The humble Petition of the undersigned Inhabitants of the Parish of Farnham, in the County of Surrey, and its vicinity:

SHOWETH,

1. That your petitioners, firmly believing that the most important interests in the kingdom are intimately connected with the prosperity of agriculture, and that whatever may be practically detrimental to the agriculturist must be so to the community at large, are grateful to your honourable House for the intention it has manifested of putting an end for ever to the system of tithes, which, by operating as a check to the free outlay of capital in the improvement of the soil, has contracted the demand for labour, deteriorated the condition of the agricultural labourer, and greatly diminished the wealth and resources of the country.

2. That your petitioners beg to represent

to your honourable House, that, by requiring the value of tithes to be ascertained by an average of the annual amount for the last seven years, and by limiting any alteration to be made by the valuer to a *maximum of ten per cent.*, as proposed by the bill now before your honourable House, much hardship and injustice will, in some cases, be committed; for, whilst tithes have, in many instances, and especially by the clergy, been collected or compounded for with great moderation and at a great sacrifice of income, they have by the *lay-impropriator* been exacted to the utmost limit allowed by law, and in many instances even beyond that limit, from the fear of expensive legal proceedings; and that whilst such average would in the one case operate as a *penalty upon the moderation of the tithe-owner*, to the prejudice both of him and his successors, it would, in the other, be giving a *premium to extortion*, to the injury of the tithe-payers and their representatives for ever, who, thereby burdened with the payment of a far larger proportion of the produce than their neighbours, must ever cultivate their property at a disadvantage.

3. Your petitioners therefore pray that this portion of the bill may be amended, and that your honourable House will take *such measures as to your wisdom shall seem most advisable*, to secure a fair and equal valuation throughout the kingdom, for the purpose of effecting an *equitable commutation of tithes*, that none may be burdened more heavily than others.

4. Your petitioners beg further to represent to your honourable House, that, firmly attached, from a sense of its inestimable value and importance to the established church, they have long viewed with regret, that, in consequence of the manner in which the property of the church has, in many instances, and especially in this neighbourhood, been *diverted from its original and appropriate destination*, the clergy of the established church are reduced to exist on a scanty and insufficient *stipend*, while the tithes are nevertheless exacted from your petitioners to the utmost extent of

their value for the benefit of impropriators, who, either non-resident, or considering them as their private and peculiar property, devote no portion of them to those purposes of *charity and benevolence for which they were originally designed*; and in confirmation of this assertion, they beg to call the attention of your honourable House to the following statement.

5. The parish of Farnham is an impropriate rectory, held for lives under the Archdeacon of Surrey, with a vicarage endowed with the small tithes. The value of the rectorial and vicarial tithes amounts to at least 2,000*l.* per annum. *The vicar has never resided*, and the duties of a parish comprising a population of 6,000, and paying so enormous an amount in tithes, are confided to a stipendiary curate, with a salary of only 100*l.* a year; whilst *not a farthing* is reserved by the lease from the archdeacon *for church or charitable purposes*.

6. The adjoining parishes of Bentley (in Hants), containing a population of about 800, is also an impropriate rectory, held by lease for lives under the Archdeacon of Surrey, without an endowed vicarage, but with a chapelry. The tithes are now taken in kind, but have been let for 1,000*l.* per annum, out of which the curate receives 28*l.* per annum only.

7. The adjoining parishes of Frensham and Elstead are also impropriate rectories, held by one lease from the Archdeacon of Surrey, without an endowed vicarage, but with a chapelry in each. The tithes are worth nearly 1,000*l.* per annum, out of which a stipend of 60*l.* only is reserved for the curate of Frensham, and 20*l.* for the curate of Elstead, though the population of both parishes is near 2,000.

8. The adjoining parish of Aldersholt, containing a population of nearly 700, is another impropriate rectory without an endowed vicarage, but with a chapelry, held under the master and brethren of the hospital of Saint Cross, near Winchester, by lease for lives. The tithes are worth from 600*l.* to 700*l.* per annum; out of which is reserved as

a stipend for the curate 15*l.* per annum only.

9. The adjoining parish of Seal cum Tongham, containing a population of about 400, is another inappropriate rectory, held under the Archdeacon of Surrey, by lease for lives, without an endowed vicarage, but with a chapelry. The tithes produce about 350*l.* per annum, out of which is reserved as a stipend for the curate 25*l.* a year only.

10. From this statement, your honourable House will perceive, that while a sum of upwards of 5,000*l.* per annum has been levied on the industry and capital of your petitioners, not one twentieth part thereof has been devoted to the maintenance and support of the offices of religion; and in these and similar instances throughout the kingdom, though the tithes have increased in many parishes ten and twenty-fold on their value at the time of the original impropriation the sum reserved by lease for the maintenance of the clergyman has remained invariably without augmentation.

11. Your petitioners therefore humbly pray your honourable House to remedy the injustice thus done to your petitioners by the insufficient maintenance afforded to their respective clergymen, and in all such cases of impropriation to provide for the proper maintenance and support of the clergy of the established church, either by compelling ecclesiastical bodies to reserve in their leases to the respective impropiators such an annual sum as shall bear the same proportion to the actual value of the tithes received by the impropiator as the sum now paid bore to the actual value of the tithes at the time such sums were originally fixed, or by such other just and equitable arrangement as to the wisdom of your honourable House shall seem fit.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

SUMMARY OF STATEMENT ABOVE SET FORTH.

Parish.	Population	Ann. Value of Tithes.	Curate's Stipend.	Duty.	How held.
Farnham	6000	£2000	£100	{ Twice on Sunday.	Archdeacon of Surrey by Lease for Lives.
Bentley	800	1000	28	Do.	
Frensham & Elstead	2000	1000	80	Do.	
Seal cum Tongham	400	350	25	Do.	{ Master & Brethren of St. Cross Hospital, Winchester.
Aldershot	700	650	15	Do.	
	9900	£5000	£248		

Now, here is a district, partly in Surrey, and partly in Hampshire, being, though the form is singular, probably, forty or fifty miles in circumference. The parishes are all contiguous, and the parish of FARNHAM nearly the centre of the whole. I dissent, and I dissent with great respect, from the able writer of this petition; I dissent only from the opinion expressed in the first paragraph of the petition; namely, that "tithes operate as a check to the free outlay of capital in the improvement of the soil, contract the demand for labour, deteriorate the condition of the agricultural labourer, and greatly diminish the wealth and the resources of the country." If the writer of the petition had qualified this statement, so as to make it apply to cases like that which he has stated in the petition; or,

if he had extended it to the whole kingdom, in its *present condition* with regard to tithes, I should have said that his opinion might be correct; but, his opinion extends to the very *nature of tithes*, and says, "that in their very essence they contain these effects." If this be their nature, they must, in all ages, have produced similar effects; and, having existed for about a thousand years, they must, by this time, have made England as barren as the rock of GIBRALTAR. Now, it is notorious, that for the twenty-two years, during the war, we heard of nothing but the "*vast improvements in the cultivation of the land*," in the breeding of cattle, and in the growing of wool. Can we have already forgotten the sheep-shearings, the boasts about the number of new inclosure bills? can we have forgotten the comparatively recent introduction of the turnip husbandry; the extension of the drill husbandry; dibbling of wheat, &c.? Yet, all this "*improvement*" took place, and all these commons and downs were broken up, and the tithe system existed all the while. I believe, that England was better cultivated, and produced more, in the reign of Henry the Seventh, than at the present day; I believe that it greatly declined in produce after the "*Reformation*"; that it was carried to a very high pitch, during the last war, is certain, and the main cause of which I could easily point out; that it has been gradually declining ever since is equally certain, and the causes are as evident: but, at any rate, it is quite certain that tithes existed all the while; and it is, therefore, equally certain that the existence of tithes does not hinder the improvement of the soil, and produce those other consequences, mentioned in the first paragraph of this petition from FARNHAM. If, indeed, the demand for tithes become, from any circumstance, uncertain in amount; if the demand depend upon caprice; if there be no sure and certain standard; then the uncertainty may operate in the manner stated in this petition; but, what can be more sure than the taking of a tenth of the crop? It may be inconvenient in some cases; but I do not

see that inconvenience; and I am ready to contend, that, if tithes were applied to their proper purposes, they would naturally have a tendency precisely the contrary of that which is stated in this petition. If, indeed, the amount of them; if they become objects of bargain and sale, or of lease; if they become matter of mere money to be taken from the cultivator, and the money to be taken away, and expended in London, at BATH, at CHELTENHAM, or at BRIGHTON, or perhaps, at PARIS or at ROME; then they are, perhaps, a little more mischievous to the cultivator, than their amount in rent; but, if taken to the parsonage barn; if there consumed or applied by the incumbent, living on the spot, I can conceive nothing more likely to contribute towards the good cultivation of the land, and the good condition of the labouring people. I am sure that the writer of this petition, if he be any thing approaching my age, will recollect that the hop-poles at FARNHAM are *five feet shorter than they used to be on an average*; and the cause is explained in a moment when you look at the situation of the land on which the hops grow; but the system of tithes existed formerly as well as now; and, therefore, the shortening of the poles cannot be ascribed to the existence of tithes. The complainants have now a lay-impropriator to deal with; so they had then; and they have always had a lay-impropriator to deal with, since the reign of HENRY the Eighth.

Thus far experience speaks with regard to this opinion, that tithes are an impediment to the good cultivation of the soil. There are plenty of arguments, founded on the nature of the case itself, to prove, that this is a futile objection to the continuance of tithes. There are other objections, indeed, and very solid ones, too; and, it is doing injury to the cause of those who wish this evil to be put an end to, to urge this allegation with regard to the good cultivation of the soil. The other arguments are most amply furnished in the facts of this petition. In the fourth paragraph, the petitioners allege, and very truly, that

the tithes have been diverted from their original and appropriate destination; that they are not applied to those purposes of charity and benevolence for which they were originally designed; that, while the tithes are exacted to the utmost extent of their value, for the benefit of persons who render no clerical services to the parishes, and consider the tithes as their private and peculiar property, those clergymen who actually do the work of the churches, are reduced to a scanty and insufficient stipend; and, they might have added, to a state of poverty actually approaching beggary. Having stated this, they proceed to give a string of instances to prove the truth of their statement; and, if the House, to whom this petition was addressed last session, do not redress this grievance, then I shall say, that the reform of the Parliament has been of no use whatever to the people.

I pray you, my friends, to read with attention the paragraphs from five to eleven, inclusive; and, particularly, the table at the end. Here are seven parishes with an average income of seven hundred and eleven pounds each. The two parishes of SEAL and TONGHAM, which were iniquitously moulded into one, after the *Reformation*, have, each of them, an increase of a hundred and seventy-five pounds a year. Even these parishes afford a sufficient income for a constantly resident minister; and, if it were practicable to *reform* the church in this respect; if it were practicable to have a "*REFORMATION*" No. two, I am not quite certain that it would be wise to make an *EQUALIZATION* in the amount of livings; though I am quite certain that it would be wise, as well as just, to break the *unions* that were so unjustly made; and for purposes so selfish on the part of the aristocracy, and so injurious to the people. Here are two *unions* in this short list; and there are only five livings, though there are seven distinct parishes. This was the work of the blessed "*REFORMATION*" No. one; and the act by which this new church was established was not put into operation, before another act was passed to

mould, in numerous cases, two or more parishes into one, for the purpose of maintaining the minister; it being alleged, that the people were too poor; that is to say, that the parishes did not yield enough for the maintenance of a minister. Under the favour of this iniquitous act, the two parishes of FRENESHAM and ELSTEAD were united, though the revenue of each is worth five hundred pounds a year. There was quite enough to maintain a minister in the parishes of SEAL and of TONGHAM; for, observe, if the nominal sum was less, the value of the money was twenty times greater. And, now, how is it? The parishes were united because they yielded too little to afford a sufficiency for the maintenance of a minister. Stop, now! Here is a pretty good answer, then, to all those who pretend, that England came to be a greater country after it got rid of the Roman Catholic religion! The parishes of SEAL and of TONGHAM; the one on the south side and the other on the north side of the chalk ridge, called the Hog's-back, in the county of Surrey, were able to build churches, keep them repaired, and to maintain each its priest, in Roman Catholic times; but, when Protestantism approached, the two parishes, on account of their poverty, were moulded into one.

But, what was the object of this moulding? It was partly to save the expense of maintaining two churches instead of one; and, at the same time, to get a sufficiency to maintain the minister in proper style. Now, mark, how this nation has been duped and abused. There is a church at FRENESHAM, and a church at ELSTEAD, a church at SEAL, and a church at TONGHAM, to this day; and only mark how well the ministers have been provided for by these unions! Out of a thousand pounds a year the two ministers for FRENESHAM and ELSTEAD get eighty pounds between them; and the two ministers for TONGHAM and SEAL get, out of three hundred and fifty pounds, *twelve pounds ten shillings a year each*, while the minister for ALDERSHOTT, out of *six hundred and fifty pounds a year*, gets *fifteen*; and while

the minister, at BENTLEY, out of a thousand a year, gets *fifty*! Here are seven parishes, containing a population of nine thousand nine hundred persons, situated in one patch of country, all contiguous to one another, and being in circumference probably forty miles, having no resident incumbent at all, yielding five thousand pounds a year in tithes; that is to say, more than ten shillings per annum for every soul existing in those parishes; and here are seven miserable curates, receiving, altogether, *two hundred and forty-eight pounds* a year; that is to say, the ministers of these parishes receive, on an average, *thirty-five pounds eight shillings and seven-pence* a year, each; that is to say, three pound eleven and threepence a year *less* than I pay to a ploughman, within two miles of the outside of one of those parishes.

Nor is this at all a rare case. We heard the other day of twenty-three parishes in Somersetshire, all lying together, in which there was not one single resident incumbent! At STOKES-UPON-TRENT in Staffordshire, something still more odious, if possible, than this; there the churches have absolutely been put up to auction and sold. It is impossible that this state of things can be suffered to exist. It has gone on till it can go on no longer: the people see, that the tithes are applied to no purposes beneficial to them: they see that they are totally perverted from their original destination; they see them create and set up magistrates all over the country; all the ancient usages and customs belonging to tithes are gone; they view them as an unreasonable and unjust demand; they no longer see in them any thing that they ought to have respect for; they view them as amongst the causes that produce their misery in spite of their frugality and industry; and with one voice they call aloud for them to be put an end to.

When I, in my MANCHESTER propositions, proposed the total abolition of tithes and church-rates, leaving the clergy in possession of the parsonage-houses, the ancient glebes, the churches, and the churchyards, I said that I verily

believed that such a change would be beneficial to those who did the *work of the church*. I was very much abused for my proposition; but look at the situation of the working clergy of these seven parishes. Are the parsonage-houses and glebes of those parishes worth *less* than two hundred and forty-eight pounds a year? Are they worth *less* than thirty-five pounds a year each? No: they are, doubtless, worth a great deal more; but, if the minister were left to the justice of his parishioners; to their free-will offerings, he would be well off, in addition to his glebes and his parsonage-houses. He would not be a justice of the peace; but he would be a priest: there would be nothing good produced in his parish of which he would not have a share; and, if this were done, at once, and without any wrangling about the matter, the churches would again be crowded, and the meeting-houses empty.

It is curious to observe who it is that are the lay-impropriators here. Of six of the parishes the Archdeacon of Surrey is the lay-impropriator; and he lets out, by lease for lives, to others; and of the seventh parish, the lay-impropriators are the masters and brethren of St. Cross Hospital, at WINCHESTER. Now, who are this Archdeacon of Surrey, and this master of St. Cross? They are two PEERS; and let us have a peep at them. The ARCHDEACON OF SURREY is Lord WALSHINGHAM, whose name is THOMAS DE GREY, who is a prebendary of WINCHESTER, Rector of CALBOURNE, in Hampshire, Rector of FAWLEY, to which is joined the parish of EXBURGH, and he is also Rector of MERTON, besides being a Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty. A pretty heavy weight for a man to have upon his shoulders. The care of the souls of the people of four parishes, a part of the care of the souls of the whole diocese, with some portion, at least, of the spiritual concerns of his Majesty; besides taking care of the rents of his impropriate parishes of FARNHAM, BENTLEY, FRENTHAM, ELSTEAD, TONGHAM, and SEAL. And who is the MASTER of St. Cross, taking in the parish of St.

FAITH, in the neighbourhood of WINCHESTER, and having this inappropriate rectory of the parish of ALDERSHOTT? It is the EARL of GUILDFORD, who is rector of the two parishes of OLD ALRESFORD and NEW ALRESFORD, to which is hooked on the parish of MEDSTEAD; who is also the rector of ST. MARY'S, SOUTHAMPTON, to which is joined, as a precinct, the parish of SOUTH STONEHAM! And, how came these two *peers* to be thus loaded with cares, greater than any common mortal could stand under? Why, the first married a daughter of the late Dr. NORTH, Bishop of WINCHESTER; and the last is a son of that bishop.

That is the "church of England as by law established"; and that is the church which now has to uphold itself against all the talents, all the indefatigable industry, all the reasoning, and all the just claims of dissenters, more numerous than the church-people themselves. The people of FARNHAM observe, that while the tithes have increased in value, from ten to twenty-fold, since the time of making these livings inappropriate, the sum reserved by lease for the maintenance of the clergyman has remained invariably without augmentation. Now, observe, money was worth twenty times as much at that time as it is now; therefore, the allowance to the clergyman at ALDERSHOTT ought to have been twenty times fifteen pounds a year, instead of the fifteen pounds which he gets. At FARNHAM, you see the stipend to the clergyman ought to be twenty hundred pounds a year, instead of a hundred a year, and so on with the rest; and now, observe, while this Archdeacon of Surrey and this Master of St. Cross have been reserving only these pittance for the working clergy of these seven parishes, the people have sixteen hundred thousand pounds taken out of the taxes raised on them, to be given "*for the relief of the poor clergy of the church of England.*" Now, what I ask is, will a reformed Parliament suffer this to exist longer? Do you wish it to exist an hour longer? No! Send your petitions, then, to be presented to the House

to pray that it may no longer exist; for if you be SILENT, let me tell you, and let me tell the whole country, that that is precisely what is wanted by those who wish for the continuation of abuses. It is my duty to represent these abuses to the House; and it is your duty to give me your express authority to do it.

The people of FARNHAM have always been a church-going people, influenced doubtless, in some degree, by having the palace of a bishop looking over their town. They, therefore, pray the House to remedy this grievance, by compelling impropiators to give the working clergy stipends proportioned to those which were reserved for them when the tithes became inappropriate. Alas! we are much too far gone for any remedy of this sort to be applied. There is no remedy but that of abolishing the tithes altogether. What I could wish, indeed, if I could have my wish, would be to see the whole of the tithes which have been taken from the church, restored to it, and administered as they formerly were; a certain portion given for the maintenance of a constantly resident minister, and the rest going in aid of the poor-rates. I would take away every plurality, without one single reservation, as unjust, iniquitous, as having been wickedly introduced, and as being a violation of the laws of God. If this were to be done, and residence enforced as strictly as the attendance of a soldier is enforced on parade; and if the bishops were to cease to be politicians and were compelled to reside as constantly as their priests, and upon moderate incomes, the church would revive and be a real blessing to the country. But there are too many and too powerful interests at work to prevent this; it is a thing, therefore, not to be expected; not within the compass of probability; and the church will come tumbling down under its own weight.

Never, however, shall the tithes be abolished, or in any way appropriated by the Government by my consent, for the purpose of being given to the fundholders, which is the direct tendency of all the schemes that I have hitherto

heard of. I have never proposed an abolition of the tithes unaccompanied by a proposition for getting rid of the debt; or, at least, greatly reducing it; and these two things never shall be separated by me.

I beg you to think seriously of this whole matter. It must come under discussion very shortly; and on the decision of it, will greatly depend the situation of the country for many years to come.

I am,
your faithful friend,
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

MY LIFE.

JUST two years ago, I said, that I did not think I should continue to publish *THE REGISTER* ABOVE TWO OR THREE YEARS LONGER; and that I would pretty speedily set about publishing *THE HISTORY OF MY OWN LIFE*. With regard to the former, I think I shall bring it to a close on my birth-day of 1835, if I should live so long, that birth-day being on the 9. of March. For I have always been determined that this light, which has shined so strongly, if not so brightly, should never go out twinkling down in the socket. The last *Register* that I write, or attempt to write, shall, if I am myself a judge of the matter, be written as well as the first; and then, let the world show, if it can, a man who has, for so many years, and so unremittingly, performed such a task.

With regard to the latter; that is to say, *The History of my Life*, the writing of it at all depended, at the time when I spoke of it, upon a contingency; namely, whether I should become a *Member of Parliament* or not. If I had not so become, I would not have written the history of my life; my chief object in writing it, or, at least, one of my chief objects, being to assert the natural rights of the working people; to assert the superiority which nature frequently gives them over birth, title, and wealth. I shall entitle my book, "*The Progress of a Ploughboy to a seat in Parlia-*

ment, as exemplified in the History of the Life of WILLIAM COBBETT, Member for OLDHAM"; and, I intend that the frontispiece to the book shall represent me, first in a smock-frock, driving the rooks from the corn; and, in the lower compartment of the picture, standing in the House of Commons, addressing the Speaker.

Now, this is no nasty, despicable affectation or vanity. There is nothing of this sort that can add one jot to my influence in the world, or to that sort of approbation which I prize. *For myself*, I care not a straw about the matter. It is by my Grammars, my Paper against Gold, and by my other writings, that I must be remembered. Plastered stuff, put upon canvass, or mortar moulded up together to look like a man: I despise these from the bottom of my heart. I see CANNING's effigy, he who told the House of Commons that, *in times of distress, it was useful to set the people to work to build palaces!* Forgetting, (the jack-ass!) that the people were to be paid for building palaces out of those taxes which *they had paid*, and the paying of which had produced their distress. I see CANNING's effigy every time I go to the House of Commons: that is enough for me, in this way. In short, I hold all this humbug and cheaterly in most profound contempt. But, that which I intend to do, in this case, is due, not to me, but to the race of English labouring people, amongst whom I was born and bred. It has been the study of my whole life to prevent them from being abased, and, to endeavour to raise them when beaten down below their just level; and such shall be my endeavour, in this, probably, amongst the last, if not the last, literary effort of my life.

The plan of the intended publication is, according to my present view of the matter, as follows: to publish the first number on the FIRST OF OCTOBER or NOVEMBER next; to make each number contain four sheets of paper, or, ninety-six pages of print; and, to publish one print or plate or engraving, or whatever it may be called, in each number; and, making the price of each number

(which, observe, is to have ninety-six pages of print) ONE SHILLING. Four numbers will make a volume; and I shall, if I can, bring the whole into three volumes. I cannot be sure of this, of course, because it is impossible for me to tell, at present, what space will be required for my matter.

Before this history begins, I shall have closed that of my BIG "SOVEREIGN," George the Fourth, during whose regency and reign, I acted a no very inconsiderable part on the theatre of politics. But, really, when I look back at it, much the most wonderful events of my life; much the most *extraordinary things*, took place before I ever dreamed of meddling with what are called politics; aye, and much the most edifying, too. It was while the smock-frock was upon my back that that stuff was formed, both bodily and mental, which has since been at work, in one way or other, to produce so much effect in the world. SIR JAMES SCARLETT once, in the Court of King's Bench, having, apparently, nothing else to talk about, took occasion to speak of "this man's *extraordinary* career." Bless him! he knew very little of that career! It was an "extraordinary" man: by-the-by, when *extraordinary* is applied in this manner, it means this: "this is a cursed *bad fellow*, but I may, *as well not say so*." An extraordinary man, indeed, Sir James; but, as far as my observation and experience have gone, a ten thousand times more extraordinary boy. *Heddekashun*, indeed! the history of my boyish days cries out "*fool*!" to every one who is a *heddekashun-monger*.

However, here is enough in the way of notification. If I live, I shall fulfil my intention, and I shall dedicate my book to the PLOUGHBOYS OF ENGLAND, bidding them to be sober, industrious, early rising, merciful to the horses and oxen; to be obedient to their masters in all their lawful commands; and exhorting them to perish, if necessary, rather than live upon POTATOES, WATER, AND SALT.

MY HOUSE AT WESTMINSTER.

Bolt-court, Feb. 13, 1834.

I WANT to let this house, which is as good and as pleasant a one as any in London. It is, in every respect, fit for a gentleman of great fortune to live in; and I put it, last year, into perfect repair; so that it wants not a penny to be laid out upon it. It is numbered 21, in CROWN-STREET, having the Alien-office on the one side of it, and the office of the Judge-Advocate-General on the other; having, on the other side, a door opening into the park, and windows in every room on this side of the house, looking across the parade and over the Mall, and having in the back ground of the view the lofty column standing in WATERLOO-place; but which, being as yet without any inscription, has merely the rumoured reputation of having been raised to immortalize the military renown of his late Royal Highness the Duke of YORK. In point of security, this house is equal to any one that existed in the golden days of ALFRED; for it has a police-station in its rear, and a sentinel constantly walking in its front. What, then, can induce me to prefer this stifled-up hole at *Bolt-court* to the house, the merits of which I have just been attempting a very feeble description? Why, in the first place, I have the Foreign Office, the Colonial Office, the Admiralty, and even the *Treasury* in my view; and, though I thought my heart steeled against temptation, I, alas! too often detect my eyes directing themselves towards those captivating buildings!

"Who quits a scene where strong temptations try,

"And, since 'tis hard to conquer, learns to fly."

But, besides this, it is very well known that the best pastorals have been written in smoky garrets; and the birds sing better, and sing louder, and more, and stronger, in a cage, than they do when at large. To these reasons I might add another or two; but as these are quite sufficient, I will not trouble the reader with any more, but come at once to a particular account of the thing.

The rooms are spacious and lofty, the fire-places free from smoke, the house sound and clean and good from the bottom to the top. The lease is for six years from last Christmas, the rent one hundred pounds a year, the premium forty pounds. Besides this, whoever takes the house, must take the fixtures at the price which I gave for them, which is about seventy or eighty pounds, with about fourteen pounds addition, which I have made to the fixtures; then there is the carpeting all new, and fitted to the rooms and the stairs; a clock and another article or two, which must go with the house and the fixtures; and I pronounce this to be the cheapest house in London, in proportion to its size, its goodness, and convenience. Application may be made at the house itself, or to me by letter, directed to BOLT COURT. Possession may be had at any time, upon notice of only one week. Every one tells me that the house is surprisingly cheap; and that I ought to sell the lease. So I will for what I gave for it; but, having never been a trafficker in any thing else, I will not be a trafficker in a house.

SCOTCH POOR-LAWS.

WITH very great respect to all those members of the Parliament who may differ from me with regard to the poor-laws, I do beseech them and urge them to read the letter that I shall subjoin to this. They will perceive that the author is a man of considerable literary ability; they will perceive that he is a Scotchman, living in Scotland; and I can assure them, and probably many of them well know it, that he is a gentleman of high reputation throughout the part of Scotland in which he lives. Look, then, at the picture which he gives of the sad effects; indeed, the horrible effects of a want of efficient poor-laws in Scotland. He blows to air all the assertions of those who quote Scotland as a *happy instance* of the absence of poor-laws. I wish gentlemen to read this letter with great attention. It will convince them that

all the scheming for the purpose of getting rid of poor-laws, is a great deal worse than folly; and that the sooner we extend the poor-laws of England to *Scotland* and Ireland, the sooner the whole kingdom is likely to be in a happy state. At any rate, this letter from Scotland, and from under such a hand, is an answer to all that has been said about the happy effects of the absence of poor-laws in Scotland; and I do hope, that we shall no longer see men impudent enough to call upon us to chip away the poor-laws of England, under pretence of making the labourers of England as moral and as happy as the labourers of Scotland are.

TO

MR. WILLIAM COBBETT, M. P.

Annan, 10. Feb., 1834.

SIR,—Certain remarks on the subject of “*POOR-LAWS*,” attributed to Mr. HUME, and recently published in the newspapers, induce me to trouble you with this letter.

You have already said, in answer to Mr. HUME, that *there are poor-laws in Scotland*. My purpose is, *first*, to state, with the utmost brevity, what the nature of these laws is, and *then* to make a few remarks, with the intention of showing what appear to me to be the defects in them.

In Scotland, then, a *settlement* is acquired by *three years' continuous residence* in any parish; the individual claiming it being, during no part of that period, a proper object of parochial relief. The settlement of a legitimate child, who has not, by residence as just described, acquired one for himself, is in the parish of his father: the settlement of an illegitimate child, under similar circumstances, in the parish of his mother.

Only the “*aged, lame, and impotent*,” or, to use the words of the old statute, “*Sik as necessairlie mon be susteined by almes*,” are entitled to parochial relief. Thus an able-bodied labourer or artisan, though he may have *six, eight, or even ten* children dependent on him for

support, and though his clear earnings may not amount to five shillings per week; nay, though he may be out of employment altogether, has no right to parochial relief by the law of Scotland.

The sums necessary for the relief of the "*aged, lame, and impotent*," in each parish where the law has been brought into operation, are payable, one half by the *heritors*, that is, the *owners*, and the other half by the *occupiers of lands and houses*. To raise these sums, assessments are imposed, from time to time, at meetings called for the purpose by the *heritors* and *kirk-session*, which latter body consists of the *parish minister*, and three, four, five or six *elders*, who are generally either *heritors* or *occupiers* within the parish. These bodies, moreover, possess the power, not only of *imposing the assessments, but of deciding upon the claims of each applicant for relief*: in other words, the individuals, who have the money to *pay*, are made the judges, whether any ought to be paid or not; and, if it ought, to what amount. And, by the law as *now* interpreted (*for it was not so originally*), neither our justices of the peace, nor our sheriffs, are entitled to interfere with their decisions; against which, consequently, there is no redress, but through the medium of our supreme civil court—the Court of Session.

In Scotland, a man, who is not himself an *heritor*, cannot calculate, with certainty, upon remaining in the parish of his settlement. On the contrary, he may be banished from that parish at any term of Whitsuntide, by the simple operation of removing him from his dwelling, which can be done by law in the most summary manner, and refusing to let him another. The instances in which this has been done, are numerous; and the reason for it generally is, either that the victim is *verging towards poverty*, whence there is a desire to throw him upon some other parish, if possible; or, that he has, from some cause or other—*perhaps a supposed offence against the game-laws*—become obnoxious to the *heritors*, or their leader. In no one instance has redress

been obtained for oppression of this sort: indeed, the law, as it stands, does not afford it.

Many parishes in Scotland belong all, or nearly all, to one *heritor*; and such *heritor* may not only banish any labourer, having his settlement in the parish, in the manner above-mentioned, but he may, with impunity, *prevent that labourer from obtaining employment*, by a prohibition addressed to his tenants, under pain of his displeasure, which is sure to produce the desired effect. A case of this kind having occurred, not long ago, the labourer, after two years of grievous suffering, brought an action of damages against his alleged oppressor. The defence was, that the prohibition, which was not denied, amounted to nothing more than a fair and legitimate exercise of *moral influence*; and although it was admitted, that the labourer, an able-bodied man, with a wife and *five* young children, could not obtain redress, or relief, in any other way, this defence, in a Scotch court of law, was found sufficient.

Such is a brief but correct outline of the "*poor-laws*" of Scotland. And now for the remarks which I promised in the outset, in so far as they have not been anticipated.

On the point of *settlement* our rule is certainly both simpler and better than that observed in England. For although it may be questionable whether three years' residence in a town is *sufficiently long* for giving a settlement, there can be no doubt, I think, that a man ought, of right to have his settlement in that parish in which he may last have lived and exercised his industry for such a length of time as to render it probable, in the average of instances, *that more benefit has accrued from his labour there than anywhere else*. This appears to me to be the sound principle, so that the *length of time only* is a matter for consideration and adjustment.

The rule, that no able-bodied man is entitled, under *any* circumstances, to parochial relief, is a barbarous one, and often productive of the most dreadful consequences. In the very parish in

which I write, and within the last four weeks, many sudden and unexpected deaths have occurred amongst persons of this class. The *unusual* circumstance led to an investigation, the result of which was, that, owing to the long course of rainy weather, and the consequent scarcity of out-door work, the utmost want and misery prevailed in many families not entitled by law to parochial relief, and who, therefore, had not applied for it. The evil having been discovered, prompt measures were adopted for remedying it; and it was remedied, by stretching the law a little, and applying the provisions of the Cholera Acts to the case. Had it happened in a parish differently circumstanced, however, in one of those numerous parishes, for instance, where there are no resident heritors, or where assessments for the relief of the poor have not yet been brought into operation, the distressed families might have been all starved to death, before the law could have interfered to save them.

I must here break off, for the present, because my paper is exhausted; but in a future letter I shall enter more fully into the *defects* of our Scotch system of poor-laws, and I shall prove, if I am not very much mistaken, before I have done, that nearly all those portions of them which the Malthusians have marked out as *beauties*, are, on the contrary, *gross deformities*, and have led, and are daily leading, to the most disastrous consequences.

I am, Sir,
your most obedient,
and very humble servant,
JAMES LITTLE.

LIBEL WORK.

I WAS in hopes that the present law-officers of the crown would have taken as patterns LORD LYNTHURST and Sir CHARLES WETHERELL, rather than the Attorneys-General of PERCEVAL and LORD LIVERPOOL. I have very great respect for them both: I have never seen any thing in the conduct of either

that did not warrant me in believing, that they were humane men, and sincerely attached to the real liberties of the country. I was very sorry to hear of the commencement of the prosecution of the *TRUE SUN*; and still more sorry to see it persevered in. The offence ascribed to that paper had been committed day after day, and week after week, by the *Times* newspaper, which urged the people to refuse to pay taxes, unless the measures proposed by these present Ministers were carried. It may be said, that one man is not to commit a crime because another has committed the same crime with impunity: and this is very true; but it is equally true that public prosecutors ought not to punish one man for doing that which they have suffered another to do without calling that other to any account at all. Besides this, the law of libel is so perfectly indefinite: hardly any man knows what is a libel, and what is not a libel, and especially a libel of this sort. If a detected *thief* were to say, "You ought not to prosecute me, because you did not prosecute JOHN NOAKES the other day, who committed just such a theft"; that would be no defence at all; for every one knows what a *theft* is; and every one knows that it is a crime to commit a theft: every one does not know what a libel is; and what one man sees another boldly publish with impunity, he has good reason to believe that he ought to be permitted to publish with impunity also. The proof of the impunity of the *Times* ought to have been conclusive of the justification of the *TRUE SUN*; or, at least, in the way of apology for its conduct.

In what statute is it written, in what interpretation of the common law is it recorded, that it is *criminal to advise men not to pay taxes*? The advice goes no farther than that of submitting to the law in another mode of collecting the tax. *It is no crime to refuse to pay the tax*; and because you leave the tax to be collected by another means. And, can it then be a CRIME to advise men to do that which they may lawfully do? I put this to the law-officers of the

crown. "Is it a crime to advise men to do that which it is lawful for them to do?"

Upon the whole, I am very sorry to be called upon by my duty to make these remarks. This prosecution discovers in the Ministry a spirit which, I was in hopes, it had ceased to possess; and, though I am unwilling to speak harshly of the parties more immediately concerned; I must say, that it has lowered them greatly in my estimation. We have troubles enough to encounter, without having created for us troubles of this sort; and that, too, without the smallest chance of doing good, or of preventing evil. One thing, however, this prosecution will do; it will tend to raise the character of the *True Sun* still higher than it now stands, by proclaiming to the world that the Government deems it of so much consequence, as to endeavour to pull it down by prosecuting it for publishing that which it suffers other papers to publish with impunity.

CORN LAWS.

AMONGST the publications that have appeared upon this subject, there is a proposition in a pamphlet by Mr. DAVID BELL, of GLASGOW, in a letter addressed to Lord ALTHORP, in particular, and to the members of the two Houses of Parliament, in general. The proposition is connected with one relative to the assessed taxes and the duty on malt. I shall take them in the author's own words, and in those words lay them before the reader.

"1. That a part, if not the whole, of the assessed taxes be repealed. It is desirable, that the taxes on carriages of all descriptions should be dispensed with, in justice to those whose estates are situated in the interior, who cannot proceed in steam-boats; and to enable the working man, his wife and children, occasionally, to take a ride in an omnibus, or other carriage, at a cheap rate. This is the case in most of the towns on the continent of Europe; and nothing tends so much to keep up a good feeling

betwixt the rich and poor. 'John Gilpin' is good authority for the pleasurable sensations which arise to a family by a ride in a coach.

"2. That the malt duty be reduced *one-half*, in the first instance, namely, to *ten shillings* a quarter, in conformity with the vote of last session; and that such duty be still further reduced, by *one shilling* each year, till it is *five shillings* a quarter, when it may be *totally repealed*, or the duty may be continued at that rate, to be paid by the public maltster and brewer, allowing all classes of the community to malt free of duty, for their own private use. An English farmer, of much respectability, sound judgment, and not yet, by any means, a very old man, has informed me, that he remembers when this was the case, a malt duty being then in existence: even if such were not the fact, there is the precedent in the late beer duty (now repealed). It would be for Parliament, at the end of five years, to decide as to a total repeal, or a continuation of five shillings a quarter duty, and which the legislature would be guided in by the amount received, and the operation of the duty at that rate.

"3. In consideration of these concessions to the agricultural interest and the community; that the present corn law be abolished, and that a duty of *ten shillings* per quarter, with the ports at all times open, be substituted; the duties upon other descriptions of grain to be in proportion, and that the duty of *ten shillings* to be reduced annually *one shilling*, till it comes to *five shillings*, when it might be permanent.

"4. That the duty on wheat from Canada, which, at present, is *five shillings*, be reduced *sixpence* per quarter, annually, till it is *two-and-sixpence*, and then to be permanent.

"5. That a bounty on the exportation of wheat, and the other kinds of grain of the *same amount* per quarter, as the duty on importation, be at all times payable to the exporter.

"6. That when the average price of wheat, in this country, is sixty-two

"shillings, the duty on importation be four shillings a quarter; if 64s. three shillings; 66s., two shillings; 68s., one shilling; and when seventy shillings, or upwards, the duty to cease. This would be preferable to a dispensing power, vested in any body of persons whatever."

Now, with regard to the assessed taxes, I agree with Mr. BELL, that the whole ought to be repealed; for I do not see why the tax should be kept upon carriages any more than upon houses; and the tax upon servants, being extended, as it is, to the man who puts a saddle upon the farmer's horse, is, in proportion to its amount, more injurious to the working classes than any other tax now in existence.

I disagree with Mr. BELL with regard to the *manner* of taking off the malt tax, which would cause all the excisemen to be kept in pay for five years longer; and I do not see good grounds for the distinction between private persons and the public brewer, notwithstanding that this may formerly have been the case. I am also against a partial repeal of the corn laws. I am for a repeal of the malt-tax, the hop-tax, and the soap-tax, and a total repeal of the corn laws.

Mr. BELL has also a proposition for taxing those who go abroad to spend the money that ought to be spent here. I should like this very well, if there were not a much better mode of securing the same object; and that is, lopping off pensions, sinecures, retired allowances, and dead-weight, and compelling the clergy to reside upon their livings, and the giving of efficient poor-laws to Ireland and Scotland. Do this: reduce the swarms of drones; let the bees keep the honey for themselves; and then let the drones fly about all over the world, if they choose: let them go still; but let them go without the honey; the manner of their reception in the countries of *soupe maigre* and "*politeness*" will soon bring them back; or rather, it will diminish their numbers by that starvation which will be the natural and just effects of their laziness.

Mr. BELL tells us, that he has lately

returned from a tour, which extended from OSTEND to STYRIA, swept all over ITALY, and the half of FRANCE, and terminated at BOULOGNE; and that he has seen no country, taken as a whole, that equals even Scotland in the produce of corn and cattle. I believe him; and though he does seem to be led away a little by the beautiful verses of BURNS, I agree with him; and I have always thought the same, that there is no country in the whole world, producing a quarter part as much, acre for acre, as England produces.

"HEDDEKASHUN,"

ALIAS

EDUCATION.

SIR,—I was not prepared for the charge made against me by your correspondent T. R., of Hoxton, namely, that I had strayed from the question in dispute. Let it be decided to what question, or part of one, it was to which I did address myself. Assuredly not to the question in part, or the whole as stated by T. R. The main points of my observations were confined to a remark of your own, upon Mr. Morrison's letter, and to one or two of his conclusions, of a sweeping nature, drawn from narrow premises, respecting a part of Scotch education, and to those remarks, I added, one or two of a general nature, to the effect, that as I had reaped benefit from a certain kind of training, so possibly might others. Unless this can be said to be the same as T. R.'s proposition, namely, "a more than proportionate increase of crime, as compared with the increase of population, having within the last fifty years taken place, its cause and remedy are required." I must be acquitted of having strayed from the question to which I did address myself.

Still little as it may be expected, I am prepared to assent in good part, to the cause of crime, as assigned by T. R., and also in great measure to his

remedy; in other words, with a qualification, I agree with him. The weight and inequality of taxation, and mischievously meddling with gold and silver money, have caused distress, which has produced poverty, and along with it ignorance; and these two, I contend, are the parents of crime. I have always maintained that a plentiful supply of food and clothing is the right of every human creature that is born. That sufficient supply never can be had, except by an immense reduction of public expenditure; and, therefore, the scale of taxation must be reduced to that of 1792, for a beginning in the way of reduction, which is the only way to secure to every man the labour of his own hands, at the same time taking care to prevent any tampering with gold and silver money.

If what is proposed were done, it would be but a part (a great part, past question) of the remedy. To effect it at all, however, the labouring classes must choose representatives for themselves, from amongst themselves or those who are with them, to take care of their interests. But how they are either to choose, or how their representatives can be fit to be chosen, or how either represented or representatives are to know what is best to be done for the good of themselves, without somewhat more or less of the thing called education, passes my comprehension. If it can be shown that it can be done without, (but not until it has been shown,) then I must say the *Register* has been written to no purpose, and that *Paper against Gold* is as great an imposition as the rotten system it was meant to expose. If the means of knowing are as useless as certain persons assert, it goes far to prove the worthlessness of knowledge, whether it be that they hold in abhorrence, or that which they profess to hold as all in all.

In these few sentences are contained my general views of the subject of education, but I should as soon think of giving a stone for bread, as saying that education is the only efficient remedy for the ills under which the working people are labouring. In saying this,

I cannot be mistaken for one of the great penny trumpeter's followers, which, however, any one would infer that I was, from the tenor of your correspondent's remarks.

There are, I know, a great many quacks in the world, but because there happened to be one Sangrado, I would not conclude that *all* physicians were Sangrados, or the same things quacks, any more than *some parts* of education being not good, therefore that *all* education of necessity must be bad. Mind this, that the Sangrado system of the matchless penny trumpeter seems to me as faulty as that of some of his opponents, who are for excluding it entirely. Perhaps Signor Santillane's prescription of a little wine may do good to all, and for one, I am not only willing to do so, but desirous of drowning all animosities in it.

The benefit or disadvantages of private over public instruction, do not admit of discussion in a few lines. I think the two kinds may be conjoined with much utility; at present, I give the preference to a public system, and am willing to run the risk of "soon having a "race of poor without kindred or "country"; an expression meaning nothing, because the thing is an impossibility; for whoever exists must have kindred, and wheresoever he lives that must be his country. I understand what is meant; and it is, that a race educated in public would be deprived of equal enjoyment of kindred and country, with a race taught at home; a very different conclusion than would be drawn from the expression itself, namely, that a race of outcasts must spring up; an argument little master or miss troubled with a common complaint, known by the name of home sickness, would be sure to seize upon with avidity, and enforce with all the eloquence of entreaty and of tears, but one which no sensible person could give in to for a moment.

If the flatterers of Brougham do call him the modern Bacon, I think they make a monstrous mistake. It is true that at one period I entertained a better opinion of him than I do now, but it never struck me he had climbed so high

up the "pinnacle" of fame, as to approach any way near to the man who is called the father of experimental philosophy. Like other empty vessels, Brougham made a great noise; and like many other people, without any inquiry as to the quality of the sound, I fancied it might be the thunder of the cannon, whereas it turns out to be no more than the rat-tat-tat of the drum. Your correspondent after this, will not even by implication, accuse me of being one of the flatterers of the present Chancellor; whose fame, if it lack his lifetime, like that of the common herd of lawyers, is sure to be extinguished when his voice ceases to be heard in a court of law,

I am,
your obedient servant,
G. WHEATLEY.

3. February, 1834.

To Mr. Cobbett, M. P.

LABOUR-RATE.

A MOST IMPORTANT MATTER!

Strictures on the "Reply" of the Poor-Law Commissioners, to the Inquiry of the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Althorp, Chancellor of the Exchequer, &c. &c. on the subject of Labour-Rates, in a Letter addressed to his Lordship, by J. M. PAINE.

(Concluded from page 375.)

Let us now consider in what manner, the Farnham agreement specially affects the interests of the *tithe-owner*, and we shall find that so far from being at all injured by the plan, no person in the parish is so materially benefited, since it operates to his advantage in a two-fold degree, first, *directly* (in common with the gentleman and shopkeeper), by his making terms with some landholder to work out his rate for him, say, for half the amount; and, secondly, in an *indirect* manner, because his tithes cannot fail to become more valuable through the better cultivation of the land. Besides, should the demand for labourers increase, there would be a competition amongst the landholders

to obtain the working out of the rates of the other rate-payers, when of course, the latter would take care to make a better bargain; they would be sure to obtain an equivalent. Indeed in this, as in every other point of view, our agreement may be said to adjust itself according to varying circumstances.

Under the terms of the Farnham agreement an instance of injustice like that which was attempted to be inflicted on a clergyman at Pulborough could not possibly occur. The 1st and 2nd clauses present an effectual barrier against any imposition of the kind; for, by the first, a larger rate could not be levied than would have been sufficient to support the *surplus labourers*; and, by the second, it is provided that the number of labourers to be kept in constant employ be regulated according to the *quantity* and *quality* of the land, instead of taking the amount of *rating* as the standard. In *all parishes* it is far preferable that the quota of labourers should be determined by this method; otherwise, a labour-rate would oftentimes be found to act to the injury not only of those rate-payers who have no occasion for labour, but in many cases would prove still more hurtful to those landholders who from the peculiar nature of their property might happen to be very highly assessed to the poor-rates. Thus, for example, at Farnham, we have hop-ground, some rated at 12*l.*, other at 3*l.* per acre; each will require about the same amount of labour, but supposing the quota of labourers were regulated by the rating, the former must furnish constant employment to four times the amount of the latter. Whereas, by adopting the other course, each must provide the same *constant employment*, although in the working out of the labour-rate by means of extra labour, the richer land is justly required to furnish a larger amount of such extra labour, proportionate to the difference in the rating; because, had no labour-rate existed it would have contributed more towards maintaining the *surplus parish labourers*.

As respects the occupiers of grass land, they would not be required to find work for so many *constant* labourers as

the occupiers of other descriptions of land, the allotment of labourers being expressly regulated by the mode of cultivation. Neither can the small farmers be in the least injured, their sons being reckoned and returned as labourers when they truly perform their work, and take their place.

To confirm, by an appeal to facts, my assertion that the whole body of rate-

payers in the parish of Farnham have been benefited by the introduction of the labour-rate, I insert an abstract of the number of able men and the sums paid to them per month, when employed in worse than useless parish labour, during a portion of the last three years, distinguishing the time that the labour-rate was in operation.

Previous to the Labour-Rate.						During the operation of the Labour-Rate.													
		Average No. of Parish Labourers.						Average No. of Parish Labourers.						Average No. of Parish Labourers.					
1831		£.	s.	d.	1832		£.	s.	d.	1832		£.	s.	d.	1833		£.	s.	d.
Oct.	93	157	1	11	..	44	79	3	6	..	..	.....	..	29	51	10	8	..	
Nov.	149	324	18	11	..	75	172	12	1	..	..	.....	..	48	107	2	3	..	
Dec.	179	411	0	1	..	..	.....	..	..	..	82	181	4	5	..	47	106	2	0
1832						1833													
Jan.	187	336	19	1	..	..	.....	..	63	108	8	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Feb.	144	256	9	5	..	..	.....	..	40	65	9	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mar.	160	179	7	10	..	..	.....	..	21	37	8	0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
April	80	179	7	7	..	..	.....	..	31	66	13	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
May	70	134	0	9	..	..	.....	..	21	31	12	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
June	59	111	6	11	..	..	.....	..	18	25	2	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

The assessment to the poor-rates stands thus :

Buildings in town and country (omitting poor cottages)	£. 5660
Rectorial tithes	1530
Vicarial tithes	260
Land.....	9600
	<hr/> 17,050

The annexed table will show the *progressive increase* of parochial taxation up to the commencement of the labour-rate agreement.

The amount assessed for poor-rates for the year ending

Michaelmas,	£. s. d.
1825, at 7s. in the pound, was	5967 10 0
1826, at 7s. 6d.....	6393 15 0
1827, at 5s..	4262 10 0
1828, at 6s.	5115 0 0
1829, at 6s.	5115 0 0
For 1830, at 6s. 6d.....	5541 5 0
1831, at 7s.....	5967 10 0
1832, at 9s.	7672 10 0
1833, at 5s. 6d.	4688 15 0

Now on the supposition that all the labour-rates for this last year were worked out, then half the amount of what was assessed to the tithe-owner, tradesman, &c., must be added to the sum collected under the name of poor-rate, and the total will be the *amount actually paid* for poor-rates under every denomination for this year.

The three labour-rates together amounted to 2s. in the pound :

Therefore (half) 1s. in the pound on tithes (1,790 <i>l.</i>) is	£. s. d. 89 10 0
Ditto buildings (5,660 <i>l.</i>) is ..	283 0 0
Poor-rate at 5s. 6d.....	4688 15 0
	<hr/> 5061 5 0

Thus we find that for the years during which the labour-rate was in partial operation, only 5,061*l.* 5s. was collected, being a diminution as compared with the year immediately preceding, of 2,611*l.* 5s.

For the year ending Michaelmas, 1834, it is *certain* that the amount of rates will not exceed that of 1833, if the labour-rate be continued; probably there will be a still further reduction of 300*l.* or 400*l.*

The foregoing statement of *facts*, which are open to the observation of all, will amply bear me out in what I have asserted to be the good effects which have arisen to the rate-payers *at large*.

Before I proceed to consider the other *objections* of the commissioners, it may not be amiss to advert, for a moment, to one of the principal causes of the increased demand for labour, viz., the alternative presented to the occupiers of land, either to support the surplus labourers on the parish roads, without receiving any return whatever; or to set them at work upon their land, and, of course, reaping the advantage of their labour. It is also necessary to remark, that a chief part of such labour is of that description which, under ordinary circumstances, would never have been attempted, but which has been undertaken through the inducements that are held out by our agreement. These inducements have occasioned fresh resources of labour to be developed.

2. I now pass on to the second objection, upon which I would merely observe that the labour-rate does not create an evil—the mischief is one of long standing, coeval with the enactment of the law of settlement. Yet even in this respect its influence is not nearly so extensive as the commissioners represent it to be; for it must be evident to every thinking person that where nothing of the kind exists, all rate-payers who have much property in a parish would take care to give employment to those whom, if without work, they must contribute so largely to support, in preference to out-parishioners. However, should the Labour-rate Act be renewed, a clause might easily be inserted, allowing parishes to make exchanges; and if any alteration be made in regard to *settlements*, it would present no obstacle.

3. The third objection of the commissioners especially merits an atten-

tive consideration; for, if what, they there assert to be the necessary consequences of a labour-rate, be true, I willingly concede every other point, and join with them in condemning the system as fraught with the most imminent danger. But is it so? Let reason and experience decide:—we shall then be able to prove that a labour-rate agreement, constructed on principles analogous to our own, is eminently well calculated to *counteract* every one of the mischievous effects which they have attributed to a labour-rate as a cause. That instead of *destroying*, it tends to *widen* the distinction between pauperism and independence. This only, as the commissioners justly observe, deserves the name of improvement. How then is this desirable object attained by means of our agreement? I have already explained, that the landholder who places himself under its provisions, is simply bound to employ a stipulated number of labourers, but there is no restriction as to whom he must employ, and he naturally engages with those whom he considers to be the best workmen, provided that they also are willing to engage with him. Thus there is a complete reciprocity in the freedom of choice on the part both of the master and his men. In the weekly returns likewise no distinction is required to be made between his *constant* and *extra* labourers. In short, none of these labourers need know any thing about a labour-rate, as it does not in the least affect the relation in which they stand to their employer. *All these labourers therefore must cease to be regarded as paupers*; since, when they are *hired* by the farmer, it is a *single matter of contract* between the parties, no reference being made to any other subject. I beg to be distinctly understood, that by our agreement, we have not the slightest connexion with the *billeting system* so deservedly reprobated.

Before we had recourse to this system, the honest labourer who had the misfortune to want employment, felt himself degraded by being put on the lists of parish paupers, and was exposed to the

greatest risk of moral contamination by being placed among the ranks of the most idle and profligate men in the parish, assembled together to work (or rather to pass away their time in concocting all sorts of mischief) on the roads and gravel-pits. But he now finds that he can obtain the due reward of his exertions, and is transformed into a *free independent labourer*. Bad characters also, who still remain a burden to the parish, can be more vigilantly looked after than formerly, on account of the diminished number of paupers out of employ; and many of the men who before we tried the experiment of a labour-rate, had long continued to derive their whole support from the parish funds, have since sought out and obtained employment. In a word, if an efficient superintendence were exercised on the part of the parochial authorities towards those labourers who now occasionally apply to them for relief and are set to work, we should soon attain that state, in which *relief would in all cases be less agreeable than wages*.

The increased demand for labourers has elevated the industrious and well-behaved to their proper station, and these characters now find but little difficulty in procuring work; and so far from any parish officer or vestry interfering in the least with the *contract* between the farmer and his labourer, nothing of the kind takes place. Good conduct, diligence, skill, are now much more appreciated, and they will not only be *preserved* but *increased* under the encouraging auspices of a labour-rate.

The condition of the single man is also very greatly improved; he is not, as it were, compelled to marry, that he may obtain his just earnings; he is no longer degraded and rendered desperate by the receipt of a wretched pittance from the parish, barely sufficient to prolong existence, but he experiences the truth of the maxim, that "the labourer is worthy of his hire." The difference in his favour now, as compared to his state when a parish pauper, is immense.

Although in our agreement we have a scale of wages by which to regulate

the amount which each landholder is allowed to deduct from the payment of his labour-rate, yet he is not confined to any specific sum in remunerating his labourers; it is indeed expected that he will not pay them *less*, but in many instances, particularly when employed in task-work, they receive much higher wages.

Another advantage to the labourer indirectly accruing from the adoption of such an agreement is the greater facility it affords him in procuring from his employer small portions of land for his own cultivation, by obtaining which his *comforts* will be most materially augmented. For the farmer frequently finds some difficulty in providing work at all seasons for all his labourers, and is therefore induced to grant them such portions of (light, free-working) ground as will occupy their spare time in rough weather. This expedient of letting small parcels of ground to cultivate on his own account, I can testify, after the experience of many years, as being highly conducive to the best temporal interests of the poor man; and thus by ameliorating his condition, it will be found one of the most efficient instruments towards re-establishing that harmony and mutual good feeling between the higher and lower classes, which for a long time past have been progressively diminishing, until in many districts of the country they have become well-nigh extinct.

Without trespassing longer upon your lordship's time, permit me simply to ask, how the commissioners can maintain their position when they proclaim, that "at the expense of the landlord, the tithe-owner, the small farmer, and the shopkeeper, all the labourers in the parish are to be kept at the ordinary wages of the district, however great their numbers, however little their diligence, or however reckless their profligacy or improvidence."

4. Respecting the fourth objection, I have only to remark, that being ignorant of the measures which will be proposed on the subject of the poor-law amendment, I cannot tell in what manner the re-enactment of the Agricultural Labour-rate Act would interfere. But

believe it would not impose any additional difficulty, at any rate, if the trial were limited to another year; at the same time I think it might safely be reported to as a valuable temporary measure in conjunction with whatever alteration the legislature might deem it advisable to make in the present system of the poor-laws.

If I have been enabled to satisfy your lordship that the sweeping denunciation which the Poor-Law Commissioners have levelled against the labour-rate system, is not warranted by experience; but on the contrary, that its legitimate tendency is *always* to produce consequences highly beneficial to all parties, without inflicting injustice upon any, I shall not consider my time to have been thrown away.

By reference to the extracts from the correspondence on the subject of labour-rates, published by authority of the commissioners, your lordship will perceive, that I am corroborated in all the statements I have made in favour of the system: the same good effects having been experienced in other parishes, where labour-rates have been tried on principles similar to the Farnham agreement, at least, inasmuch as those principles have been adhered to.

Assuming that the foregoing observations are founded in truth, it only remains for me to impress upon your lordship's notice the expediency of re-enacting the permissive act now in force, intituled, "An Act for the better Employment of Labourers in Agricultural Parishes," &c. with such necessary amendments as may be required. I humbly submit that the bill brought before Parliament last Session by the Duke of Richmond, for the purpose of explaining and amending the said act, would in great measure accomplish the desired ends. At the same time I think it will require a little alteration. First, that a clause be inserted *permitting* rate-payers not having land to transfer the working out of their labour-rate; and secondly, that the sixth clause should be altogether omitted. It enacts, "That no parish shall be deemed and taken to be an agricultural parish for the

"purpose of the said recited act and
"this act, except where three-fourths
"of the assessment to the poor-rates in
"such parishes shall be upon land."
The retention of this clause would not only neutralize the intentions of the bill by excluding many parishes in which its adoption would have been of the greatest value, but it is quite *unnecessary*, even for securing the object for which it was evidently designed, the protection of the interests of those rate-payers who are not agriculturists. The first clause contains in itself a sufficient guarantee, and renders the sixth perfectly *useless*, since it requires, in the first place, that the consent of a majority of three-fourths of the rate-payers then present in vestry duly convened for the purpose shall be obtained before any agreement can be entered into; and secondly, that *notice* shall be given for three successive Sundays previous to the holding such meeting; this ensures due publicity. Thus it is impossible for any agreement to be made which the majority then present may consider detrimental to their interests; such majority it may reasonably be presumed will consist of those rate-payers who constitute the majority of the parish. In parishes where a large (say the larger) portion of the rates is paid by persons who are not agriculturists, it is manifest, that no plan could be carried into execution which would bear injuriously upon those parties (they being the majority), who would naturally be on the alert to protect their own interests. The first clause therefore affords ample security to the whole body of rate-payers in those parishes where three-fourths of the assessment is not upon land, and they might surely be allowed the choice of placing themselves under the provisions of the act at their *own discretion*. If, on the other hand, the said clause were suffered to remain, though there be only *one* dissentient voice in a parish thus circumstanced, it would be most effectually shut out (notwithstanding that the experiment of a labour-rate had hitherto proved eminently successful), because every agreement it entered into would be *illegal*.

The parish of Farnham would be placed in this predicament. I have already stated that the several agreements of this parish were passed *almost unanimously*. If the tithe-owners, gentry, tradesmen, &c. who numerically form an overwhelming majority, had thought themselves at all aggrieved, they had it completely in their power to defeat the measure, but experience has taught them that they benefit equally with the landholders in the advantage of our labour-rate agreement.

Sincerely desiring to apologise for this lengthened intrusion upon your lordship's attention,

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's

most obedient humble servant,

JOHN M. PAINE.

To the Right Honourable
Lord Viscount Althorp.

HISTORY OF GEORGE THE FOURTH.

I HAVE just published the thirteenth number of this work. Dr. BLACK called the first numbers of the PROTESTANT REFORMATION "*pig's meat*." That "*pig's meat*" had a great hand in producing what we now behold with regard to the church; and this new trough full of "*pig's meat*," which will be brought to a close in seven more numbers, will, or I am very much mistaken, produce something of the same sort with regard to this whole system of sway. It was the transactions of this regency and reign that brought down the system, or that gave it the blow under which it is now staggering. The acts of the reign of GEORGE the Third were sometimes outrageously violent, and sometimes outrageously foolish; but it was in this regency and reign of the fourth GEORGE, of "*the Sovereign*," as they used to call him; it was the transactions of this regency and reign that inflicted the final blow; and we are just in the right time for giving a history of them, because we have *had time to feel their effects*, while we are not so far from them as to have forgotten

them; and while a large part of the actors are still alive. This present number thirteen begins the history of "*the Sovereign's*" *war with the United States of America*. This war, though it took place only a few years back, is a matter of which the people of England know no more than they know of what is passing in the moon; and they never did know any more about it. It took place amidst events nearer home; and the base press, and the crafty Government, and the deeply-interested navy and army, kept all the facts totally hidden from the people. The histories of the war which have been written and published in America *have never been republished here*. It is high time that this history be made known to the people of England. They feel how England is sunk, and how America has risen; but they do not know the why and the wherefore of all this. They feel the weight of the accursed debt; but they do not know that the war of "*the Sovereign*" caused seventy millions of that debt, and created that powerful American navy which now makes the teeth of *some folks* chatter in their heads.

I intend to have some copperplate prints to this History.

1. The Frontispiece, exhibiting "*the Sovereign*" pulling up a large minnow at the end of a silver rod, and caught by a golden hook, and standing in a golden *gondola*, on *Virginia Water*, exciting the admiration of Lady CONYNGHAM, "*Lord*" BLOOMFIELD, Sir WILLIAM KNIGHTON, and the "*Right Honourable*" Col. M'MAHON, while the "*Right Honourable*" Sir HERBERT TAYLOR, in the act of writing down the exploits of the sovereign.
2. Marshal NEY coming out to be shot, with the capitulation of PARIS tied about his neck.
3. The House of Commons, standing up with hats off, and clapping hands, receiving CASTLEREAGH on his arrival from the Continent, after the fall of NAPOLEON.
4. CASTLEREAGH, in his last great act, at NORTH CRAY, in Kent.

The gateway of "*the sovereign*," costing seventy thousand pounds; a chopstick sitting on one side, and a weaver on the other, dining upon potatoes and salt.

Soldiers shooting HONEY and FRANCIS at the funeral of the Queen.

The frigate Java knocked to pieces by the "*bits of bunting*."

The battle of NEW ORLEANS.

The famous battle on the Serpentine-river, where the American ships were all captured by the English, just about the time that the Americans were capturing all the English on Lake CHAMPLAIN: which last scene will be exhibited in another compartment of the same picture.

These, and some others, I intend as embellishments to this mess of "*pig's meat*," for I am determined to do all possible honour to the History of the Reign of "*THE SOVEREIGN*." I do not promise to give these little pictures, but I wish to do it, and think I shall do it.

The contents of the thirteenth number are as follows:

CHAP. VI.

AMERICAN WAR. — Grounds of it. — Tyranny of impressment. — Motives of English Government — Their deadly hostility to freedom. — Their employing Captain Henry as a secret agent in the United States. — Their treatment of Americans whom they had impressed. — Their shutting of them up in a prison on Dartmoor. — Their determination to destroy freedom in America. — John Wilson Croker's Manifesto. — Devastation of the towns and villages and plunder of the farm-houses on the American sea-coast. — Bloody works of our allies, the savages at French-town, on the River Raisin. — Sacking of the little town of Hampton, in Virginia. — Burnings at Washington. — Gross delusion of the people of England.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

BAILLIE, W., Slough, nurseryman.
BUTTERWORTH, J., Rochdale, Lancashire, cotton-spinner.
COOK, J., Narrow-street, Ratcliffe, biscuit-baker.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

HINTON, J. L., Plymouth-dock, grocer.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

JONES, W., Bridgend, Glamorganshire, mason.

BANKRUPTS.

DIXON, R., Chesterfield, Derbyshire, maltster.
GREEN, J. and W., Swinton near Rotherham, Yorkshire, earthenware-manufacturers.
JACKSON, J., Whitehaven, Cumberland, mercer.
LAMB, M. W., Manchester, drysalter.
LAMON, C., Tyer's-gateway, Bermondsey, fellmonger.
THRAVES, J., Sandiacre, Derbyshire, miller.
TRIGGS, J., Mare-street, Hackney, veterinary-surgeon.

TUESDAY, FEB. 11, 1834.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

ROMANIS, J., Gracechurch-street, hosier.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

TAYLOR, J., Bradford, Wilts, grocer.

BANKRUPTS.

BAYLEY, J., Rotherhithe, ship-breaker.
BILLINGTON, J., Wakefield, Yorkshire, scrivener.
BROADBERRY, J., North Collingham, Nottingham, coal-dealer.
BULLOCK, W. M., Rupert-street, tailor.
BUTTERWORTH, J., Rochdale, cotton-spinner.
COWELL, G., Manchester, and J. Acton, jun., Wigan, cotton-spinners.
FARMER, J., Osborn-street, Whitechapel, sugar-refiner.
FRY, W., Bristol, chemist.
LAING, J., Stockton-upon-Tees, Durham, ship-builder.
TENCH, J., Wribbenhall, Kidderminster.
THOMPSON, G., jun., Huddersfield, coach-builder.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Feb. 10. — The arrivals fresh up to this morning's market from Essex, Kent, and Suffolk, were

moderate, but as there were several parcels left over from last week, the stands were tolerably well filled with samples. The improvement in the weather has had a corresponding effect on the condition of the samples, though there were still many which handled rough. Fine dry qualities moved rather more freely off hand at the currency of this day week, but the secondary descriptions, and those out of condition, were quite neglected. Bonded Wheat was in better demand, but the inquiry did not lead to much actual business.

The supply of Barley this morning was rather short, but the quantity remaining on hand from last week, made the number of samples offering large. Fine malting and chevalier qualities were rather better sale at last week's prices, but all other sorts were very difficult of disposal at a decline of 1s. per qr. from last Monday.

Malt continued extremely dull.

Oats, with the exception of the receipts from Scotland, were in limited supply. The trade was steady at the prices of last week.

Beans were in rather better demand at the previous quotations.

White Peas met a little more inquiry at Friday's prices, which were 1s. lower than this day week. In Grey and Maple no alteration.

Flour was heavy sale, and where sales of the article ex-ship were forced, 1s. per sack less money was accepted.

Wheat	50s. to 58s.
Rye	—s. to —s.
Barley	24s. to 25s.
— fine	30s. to 32s.
Peas, White	—s. to —s.
— Boilers	38s. to 40s.
— Grey	30s. to 32s.
Beans, Small	33s. to 37s.
— Tick	2½s. to 33s.
Oats, Potato	22s. to 23s.
— Feed	17s. to 20s.
Flour, per sack	45s. to 50s.

PROVISIONS.

Pork, India, new	£5s. to 90s.
— Mess, new ...	55s. to 57s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast	80s. to 83s. per cwt.
— Carlow	80s. to 87s.
— Cork	73s. to 75s.
— Limerick ..	72s. to 73s.
— Waterford ..	70s. to 76s.
— Dublin	66s. to —s.

SMITHFIELD, February 10.

This day's supply of Beasts was moderately good, both as to numbers and quality; its supply of Sheep, Calves, and Porkers rather limited, but, especially as relates to the Sheep, unusually prime. Trade was, with Beef and Mutton, somewhat brisk, at an advance of 2d.; with Veal dull, at a depression of 4d.

per stone; whilst Pork experienced a sluggish sale at Friday's quotations.

Full three-fourths of the Beasts appeared to consist of about equal numbers of short-horns, Scots, Devons, and Welsh runts; the remaining fourth of about equal numbers of Herefords and Irish, with about 100 Sussex beasts, as many Town's-end Cows, a few Staffords, &c.

A full moiety of the Sheep were South-Downs; about a fourth new Leicesters, in about equal numbers of South-Down and white-faced crosses: and the remaining fourth about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, with a few pens of horned and polled Norfolks, horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

About 1,200 of the Beasts, in about equal numbers of Scots and Devons, with about 100 home-breds, and 200 short-horns, were from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 700, chiefly short-horns and Devons, with a few Scots, Herefords, and Irish Beasts, from Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, and others of our northern grazing districts; about 150, chiefly Devons, with a few Herefords, Scots, and Welsh runts, from our midland and western districts; about 140, chiefly Sussex beasts, with a few Devons, Welsh runts, and Irish beasts, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, and most of the remainder, including the Town's-end Cows, from the stall-feeders, &c. near London.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Feb. 14.

The arrivals this week are good. The market dull at the prices of Monday.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. } Fri. Sat. Mon. Tues. Wed. Thur	
Cons. Ann. } 88½ 89½ 89½ 88½ 88½ 88½	

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such a thing having been frequently suggested to me by Teachers as necessary.

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MAPS;

First, one of the whole country, showing the local situation of the Counties relatively to each other; and, then, each County is also preceded by a Map, showing, in the same manner, the local situation of the Cities, Boroughs, and Market Towns.

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LOCAL TESTAMENTARY COURTS.

IT is understood that an extraordinary measure is now in preparation, which, if carried into a law, will produce the most alarming alterations in the existing mode of preserving wills, and of taking out probates and letters of administration in every part of this kingdom, not comprised within the precincts of the metropolis. This bill is said to contemplate, in the first place, the immediate removal to London of all original wills, from the places where they are now deposited throughout the several counties of England and Wales; and to provide that in future all such instruments shall be regularly transmitted to Doctors' Commons, to be there perpetually retained. Consequently, if this measure be successful, persons living at a distance from the capital would be precluded, in future, from obtaining authentic information as to the contents of any will in which they may be interested, unless they submit to the inconvenience and expense of journeys to and from town, or pay an agent specially employed for the purpose. Thus, in either

case, they must incur heavy charges not hitherto imposed on individuals resident in the country, and from which the inhabitants of the metropolis would be altogether free. How are the probates and letters of administration annually taken out at short distances from the homes of the parties, through the instrumentality of the local tribunals, to be obtained by country families under the new bill? It is impossible to devise any machinery for the accomplishment of this object, that will not very considerably increase the rate of expense which it now requires.

It was stated in evidence before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, as well as before a committee of the House of Commons, that wills have been proved at Doctors' Commons of persons actually living when the probates were taken out; and that letters of administration have been granted to persons having no title thereto, upon the *securities of men of straw*. By stratagems of this kind great frauds have been perpetrated. Can it be doubted that the proposed system of having all the country business transacted through that court, but at various and remote distances from it, would suggest irresistible temptations for new frauds of a still more formidable character?

By reason of the present state of the law with respect to *bona notabilia*, and of the fact that the great mass of the personal property of the kingdom is centred in the metropolis, probates or administrations appertaining to effects of large amount are now usually taken out at Doctors' Commons: while those disposing of personal chattels of small amount are for the most part taken out in the country. The former are not often under the sum of 1,000*l.*; the latter very seldom exceed that sum. The annual number of probates and administrations taken out in the country courts is about twenty-four thousand; and of these, twelve thousand five hundred are under 1,000*l.*, seven thousand are under 200*l.*, and four thousand seven hundred are absolutely under 100*l.* Therefore the new bill is designed to impose upon the small properties of the country, a new species of taxation, which is not to be levied on the riches of the higher orders!—and for what purpose? Simply that the Prerogative Court may monopolize all the testamentary jurisdiction now distributed over the face of the kingdom.

By way of finding a pretext for this unwarrantable innovation upon the ancient usages of the realm, the report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who seek the aggrandisement of the metropolitan court, has charged the local tribunals with ignorance and carelessness in making grants of probate or administration. But even those commissioners have not been able to found that charge upon a single statement of fact. It was necessary to their purpose to annihilate the local tribunals; and, acting as judges in their own cause, they have pronounced those establishments guilty, without calling for any

defence, or having before them even the shadow of any evidence to justify their sentence.

Inasmuch, therefore, as the bill in question thus proposing innovations which must in every point of view be attended with great inconvenience and expense to all persons resident in the country parts of England and Wales, affects to be founded upon the alleged incompetency of the local courts to transact the testamentary business hitherto confided to those tribunals from a period beyond the memory of man, the registrars, deputy registrars, and other officers of the country courts, do hereby resolve and declare :—

(RESOLUTIONS :)—1. That the charges brought against the local courts of testamentary jurisdiction in the report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, dated the 15. of February, 1832, are founded on the mere unsupported opinions of individuals not having actual personal knowledge on the subject, and whose evidence would, on that account alone, be inadmissible in any court of justice in this kingdom.

2. That it is shown by the evidence of the Solicitor to the Bank of England, that the Prerogative Court of the Province of Canterbury has already exceeded its jurisdiction in those cases, where the alleged *bona notabilia* consisted solely of stock in the Public Funds; although it would appear that the title to such stock follows the person of the testator, and, therefore, that the grant of the country courts as to such stock would be perfectly valid. Hence, it follows, that the due authority of the country courts has been already invaded; and that, instead of being further limited, it ought to be fully protected by clear definition of the law upon this subject.

3. That if the legislature consider the country courts now existing to require consolidation or improvement, we hereby pledge ourselves to render all the assistance in our power, in order to effect those objects, and thus to increase as much as possible the manifold advantages which local tribunals for the administration of justice in every shape are calculated to confer upon the people of this kingdom.

4. That if any such local establishments be in want of suitable depositories for the safe custody of wills, and for allowing easier access to the same, we hereby resolve that such depositories and facilities of reference shall be provided without any expense to the country.

5. That the committee do meet from time to time, in order that they may firmly resist any clauses, in the proposed bill which may tend to impair the efficacy of the local testamentary tribunals, and so to diminish the great public advantage of bringing home justice in a cheap and convenient form to every man's door.

(Signed) ROBERT SWAN,

Secretary to the Associated Registrars, Deputy Registrars, and other officers of the Country Courts.

Richardson's Hotel, Covent-garden,

5. February, 1834.

"COLES'S TRUSS IS THE BEST."

I am ready to subscribe to the truth of this assertion, which appears on the front (I will not say ornaments his establishment at Charing Cross) and I can do it from personal experience. Having in the course of thirty years tried a great many trusses, I have recommended Coles's Truss to several persons, particularly professional characters, and intend, if I live, to continue to do so, being convinced, that in promoting the general adoption of Coles's Patent Trusses, I am serving a meritorious mechanic and the cause of humanity.

THOMAS RICHARDSON.

West Hendon House, near Sunderland.

1st Month, 10th, 1834.

I can subscribe to a similar testimonial, after having tried several other trusses without experiencing its complete prevention.

THOMAS EDMONDS.

Wycombe, Bucks.

1st Month, 21st, 1834.

Sir,—I have been wearing trusses of different kinds for the last thirty years, but never found one of them to keep up the rupture effectually, until thirteen months since I purchased one of your patent: and, although my rupture came down in a most frightful manner then, it has never come down since, nor have I scarcely the appearance of ever having had such a complaint. At my age, 77 years, I do not intend leaving off wearing a truss, and I know too well the importance of your ingenious contrivance to keep the world in ignorance of it.

JAMES SHARE, Commander, R. N.

19, Bury-street, Bloomsbury,

28th May, 1832.

Colonel Franklin informs those who have ruptures, that he has been wearing trusses thirty years, and he never met with but one individual who was master of the complaint. He has likewise an elder brother, a Colonel in the Honourable East India Company's service, who has worn a similar kind of truss for many years, who can say the same. Mr. Coles of Charing-cross, is the individual alluded to.

Blackheath, July 16th, 1832.

Sir,—Having the misfortune to rupture myself several years ago, I purchased one of Salmon's self-adjusting Trusses, which, although it afforded me considerable relief, did not entirely keep the rupture in its place, particularly when I had to stand for any length of time. I felt a disagreeable gnawing pain, attended with a bearing down of the hernia, so that I was frequently unable to wear the truss. In mentioning to a friend what I had suffered, he strongly advised me to try one of your patent, which I did, and found to my great comfort, that it kept up the rupture effectually, without producing any of those painful sensations which I had endured while wearing the ball and socket truss, and I can now stand or walk for hours together without the least pain or inconvenience, in fact, as

well as though I had never been ruptured. I send you this statement to make what use of it you please.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,
WILLIAM MATTHEWS,
 Quarter-Master, Royal Artillery.
 Woolwich, Sept. 12th, 1832.

A gentleman at Lloyd's Coffee House has also sent Mr. Coles a similar testimonial of his case, which had been of thirty years' standing.

Sir,—While serving the office of first lieutenant of a line-of-battle ship off Toulon, in 1809, I had the misfortune, through extreme fatigue, to bring on a rupture. Since that period I have tried every description of truss which came to my knowledge, but I never succeeded in supporting the hernia effectually until 1831, when I purchased two of your Patent Trusses; and it is but justice to own that no descent has occurred since I have worn them, and I freely give you liberty to publish this testimonial in favour of your excellent invention.

I am, sir, yours obediently,
J. P. BAKER, Commander, R. N.
 28, Duke-street, Manchester-square,
 Oct. 17, 1832.

Sir,—Seven years ago I applied to you to stop a rupture, which I have laboured under upwards of fifty years, which was as large as a man's head, which you accomplished with apparent ease, when no person that I had previously consulted, was able to stop it a single day. I am now 86, and am entirely free from any external appearance of the complaint. My object in writing this testimonial, is, not merely to express my gratitude for the services you have rendered me, but to guard my fellow sufferers against the use of imperfect trusses.

GEORGE CARPENTER.

24, Regent-street,
 21st October, 1832.

A surgeon of the R. N., about 60 years of age, who had been wearing trusses of several different kinds, employed one of Coles's manufacture, and ere he had half worn it out, threw it aside, and left his trusses in London, while he made a tour on the continent. Being at sea and exposed to severe weather, a sea sickness brought on the complaint, and he was compelled a second time to wear his truss, and after wearing it about twelve months, has again been perfectly cured, and does not wear a truss.

Sir Astley Cooper knows a case which had been getting worse for thirty years, and which had escaped a hundred times a day, and does not escape from Coles's Truss.

Sir,—In November last I purchased one of your Patent Trusses. I was then suffering severely from a hernia of thirty-six years' standing, which has escaped from my truss

twenty or thirty times in a day. I am now happy to state, that it never escaped from your truss: and I have no hesitation in pronouncing it to be of more value, when compared with any truss I had previously worn, than gold when compared with silver.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
WILLIAM MINTRAM.
 No. 7, Burlington Arcade,
 July 12th, 1833.

COLONEL GREEN hesitates not to acknowledge, that the trusses furnished to him by Mr. Coles have effectually put a stop to his malady. He cannot say that of any other truss which he has worn for the last thirty years.

No. 3, Windham-place, Montagu-square,
 August 27th, 1833.

Sir,—Having worn trusses for twenty years, and suffered the most excruciating pain of strangulated hernia, which occurred while wearing my truss, and, without a doubt, should have lost my life, but for the great skill and attention paid me by Mr. Mayo in the operation. And, notwithstanding I had the best medical aid, and, as I supposed, the best trusses that could be procured, my rupture continually increased, and escaped from every truss that I had employed, until I had yours; and am happy to state, that I now feel perfectly comfortable, and more secure, under every position of the body, than at any period, either before or since I underwent the operation.

I am, Sir, with gratitude, yours, &c.,
JOHN QUICK.
 No. 70, Great Titchfield-street, Marylebone,
 June 14th, 1833.]

Sir,—About twelve months since I purchased one of your Patent Trusses for my father, Lieutenant Munro, who has worn trusses thirty years, and such is the estimation in which your truss is held by him, that he would not part with it for the value of all the trusses he had previously worn.

I am, Sir,
 your very humble servant,
A. T. MUNRO,
 Lieut. and Adjut. Royal Horse Guards.
 Tain, 21st Sept. 1833.

John Borthwick Gilchrist, Esq. has published his case. He had been a great sufferer for many years from rupture, and he says that none of the Truss-makers in Germany, Belgium, France, Switzerland, nor in England, except Mr. Coles, ever made him an efficient truss, whose professional abilities, he adds, combined with his truly scientific discovery justly entitles him to universal confidence.—See *Doctor*, No. 69.

* Read the case of William Cobbett, Esq. published in Boyle's "Court Guide" for Jan. 1833—4.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-st. &c.